

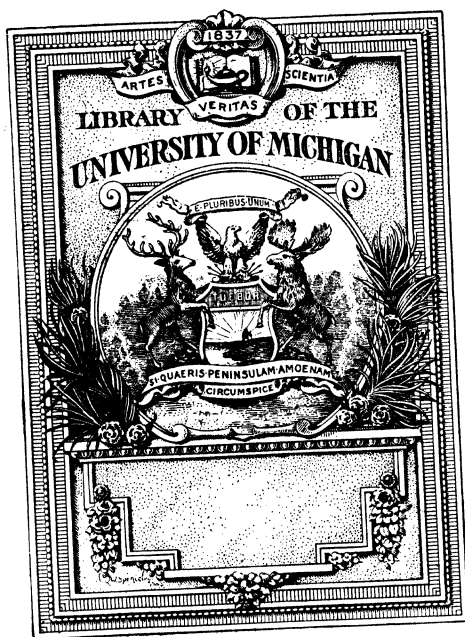
Burrows, J.C. Speech in U.S. Senate May 28th 1902.

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CIVIL GOVERNMENT FOR THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JULIUS C. BURROWS,
OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28, 1902.

WASHINGTON.
1902.

SPEECH
OF
HON. JULIUS C. BURROWS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (S. 2295) temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes—

Mr. BURROWS said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I did not intend to participate in the general debate upon this bill, but to content myself with the opportunity that would be afforded under the fifteen-minute limit of debate. However, as no Senator on the other side desires to proceed this afternoon, I will husband the time which I intended to take by making some observations now upon the pending measure. What I have to say will be confined to the measure under consideration and nothing else, for nothing else, to my mind, is important.

Mr. President, we have come at last to the parting of the ways. After journeying in this Philippine matter now for more than four years, the time has come when we must determine our future course. If there is to be a change it can not be decided upon too soon. If the present course is to be persisted in, it can not be too clearly pointed out or definitely understood. And after having chosen our course, whatever it may be, it is important that we pursue it with stability and without questioning.

The Committee on the Philippines present to the Senate two propositions, the bill of the majority and the substitute of the minority. These two propositions fairly represent the divergent views of the committee, and I presume of the country, as to the future government of the Philippine Islands, and we are called upon to determine which course shall be taken. It is important, therefore, at the outset to clearly understand the two proposed policies and the direction in which they lead.

The bill of the majority, in general terms, looks to the temporary, if not the permanent, occupation by the United States of the Philippine Archipelago. It proposes to establish therein what is denominated in the bill "A civil government for the Philippine Islands," under and by virtue of American sovereignty. The leading features of the bill are as follows:

There is to be appointed for the "government of the Philippine" Islands a governor, vice-governor, members of the Commission, the heads of executive departments, a chief justice of the supreme court and associate justices, all to be selected by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; a census of the inhabitants of the islands is to be taken at an early day, which shall embrace all needful information as to the conditions, character, and attainments of the people, the result of which shall be reported to the President of the United States; the Commission shall also report, in connection with the returns of such census, whether all or any portion of the Philippine people are "capable, fit, and ready for the estab-

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lishment of permanent popular representative government;" additional municipal and provincial governments are to be established "with popular representative government" so far and as rapidly as "communities in such civil divisions are capable, fit, and ready for the same."

The Government is authorized to "improve the harbors and navigable waters of the archipelago;" construct and maintain "warehouses, light-houses, signal stations, and like instruments of commerce;" all "property and rights which may have been acquired in the Philippine Islands by the United States under the treaty of peace with Spain are placed under control of the government of the Philippine Islands," to be administered for the benefit of their inhabitants.

The "government of the Philippine Islands" is also authorized to make rules for the leasing, sale, and disposition of public lands, "other than the timber or mineral lands," but such regulations shall not go into effect or have the force of law "until they receive the approval of the President of the United States, by a. d through the Secretary of War," and they shall also be submitted to Congress for amendment or disapproval; the government is authorized to make rules and regulations prescribing the terms and conditions to enable persons to perfect their title to public lands, not exceeding 160 acres, who, prior to the transfer of sovereignty, from Spain to the United States, had fulfilled all or some of the conditions required by Spanish laws, and the President of the United States is authorized to issue patents therefor; the government is authorized to lease, let, and demise to "actual occupants and settlers and others," for a term of not more than five years, such parts and portions of the public domain, not exceeding 160 acres, other than timber and mineral lands, as may be deemed wise; in the leasing, demising, or letting of any part of the public domain preference shall be given to actual occupants and settlers, and "all moneys obtained from such leasing shall be covered into the insular treasury, to be used only for insular purposes;" no timber, trees, forests, or forest products on lands leased or demised "shall be cut, destroyed, removed, or appropriated, except by special permission of said government."

No timber lands forming a part of the public domain shall be sold or leased, but said government shall have the right and is empowered to issue licenses to cut timber under forestry regulations of the islands.

It is further provided that in all cases public lands in the islands valuable for minerals shall be reserved from sale except as otherwise expressly directed; but all valuable mineral deposits in public lands "are free and open to exploration and purchase, and the land in which they are found, to occupation and purchase by citizens of the United States, natives of the Philippine Islands, and persons who have, under and by virtue of the treaty of Paris, acquired the political rights of the natives of the islands," and the laws and regulations touching mineral lands conform, so far as applicable, to the general laws of the United States on that subject, and land districts and a mining bureau are to be established in the islands.

The government of the Philippine Islands is also authorized "to acquire, receive, hold, maintain, and convey title to real and personal property, and may acquire real estate for public uses by the exercise of the right of eminent domain," and under this provision it is expressly empowered to acquire such lands, easements, and

appurtenances as on the 13th day of August, 1898, were owned or held by associations, corporations, communities, religious orders, or private individuals, in such large tracts or parcels as in the opinion of the Commission injuriously affect the welfare of the people of the Philippine Islands;" and to provide the necessary funds for the purchase of such lands the government of the Philippine Islands is empowered to borrow money and issue bonds therefor upon the usual terms and conditions, and the lands so acquired shall constitute a part of the public property of the "government of the Philippine Islands," and may be disposed of by such government on such terms and conditions as it may prescribe, the proceeds to constitute a sinking fund for the payment of principal and interest.

Mr. CLAY. With the Senator's permission—he seems to be reading the bill from beginning to end, going through the different sections—the section he is on now, if I remember correctly, authorizes the Philippine Commission to permit the municipality of the city of Manila to issue \$4,000,000 of bonds and any other city or town to issue bonds, and those bonds are to draw interest at the rate of 5 per cent, payable semiannually. The bill further provides that these bonds are nontaxable by the Government of the United States, and it also provides that the bonds issued by the city of Manila and the other cities in the Philippine Islands are nontaxable by any State in this Union, or by any municipality. Now, as I understand it, if the city of Manila shall issue \$4,000,000 of bonds and some syndicate in Georgia or the Senator's State or New York were to buy those bonds, they would be nontaxable by the city of New York or any municipality or State where they were held. I desire to ask the Senator if he can point to a single instance where the Government of the United States has ever authorized a city or town within any of its territory to issue bonds that are nontaxable by another State or another municipality?

Mr. BURROWS. I will say in reply to the Senator from Georgia that the provisions to which he refers are not contained in the section which I was reading.

Mr. CLAY. It is in section 72, I think, or section 76.

Mr. BURROWS. It is in a section to which I shall refer in a few moments. The section I was reading is the one which authorizes the acquirement of lands belonging to religious orders and corporations and the issuing of bonds for the purpose of raising the necessary funds to provide for their purchase.

The Supreme Court of the United States is given jurisdiction in certain important cases with power to review, revise, reverse, modify, or affirm the final judgments and decrees of the supreme court of the Philippine Islands.

Section 68 is the one to which the Senator from Georgia called my attention, and is as follows:

That for the purpose of providing funds to construct sewers, to furnish adequate sewer and drainage facilities, to secure a sufficient supply of water, and to provide all kinds of municipal betterments and improvements in municipalities, the government of the Philippine Islands, under such limitations, terms, and conditions as it may prescribe, with the consent and approval of the President of the United States, may permit any municipality of said islands to incur indebtedness, borrow money, etc.

Mr. CLAY. And if the Senator will read further he will find that they are nontaxable by a State or municipality.

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly; I am aware of that provision, but I am not stopping to discuss the merits of the several provisions of the measure, my only purpose being to show what the bill is,

and in what manner and to what extent it asserts the sovereignty of the United States.

Mr. CLAY. I will ask the Senator if he thinks that Congress ought to authorize any city in its territory to issue city bonds that can not be taxed by any city or State in the Union where they are held. I grant you that when we issue Government bonds, they are nontaxable by the States or by any city in a State; but when Congress authorizes a city to issue bonds, does the Senator think Congress ought to provide that a syndicate owning those bonds in any State or municipality shall not be taxed?

Mr. BURROWS. Now the Senator is discussing the merits of the proposition. I am not doing that now. My purpose, as I said before, is simply to show the scope of the bill. When we come to the fifteen-minute debate, if the question made by the Senator comes up, it will then be proper to consider that question and I will be pleased to discuss it with the Senator.

Mr. QUARLES. Will the Senator permit me a moment? If it will not disturb him I should like to ask my distinguished friend from Georgia [Mr. CLAY] whether as a matter of law these bonds, issued pursuant to Federal authority under that section, do not become in some sense a Federal instrumentality to carry out a Federal policy, as much so as though they had the great seal of the United States upon them? If that is so, Mr. President, then the same principle by which a United States bond would be made nontaxable would apply to this issue of bonds.

Mr. CLAY. Now, when the Government—

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me—

Mr. CLAY. Certainly, with pleasure. I started to answer the question.

Mr. BURROWS. This debate is exceedingly interesting, but I do not wish to be diverted from the one purpose I had in view at this time, a succinct statement of the leading features of the committee's bill. The merits or demerits of these provisions I do not now propose to discuss.

Mr. CLAY. I want it to appear, then, that the Senator declined to yield. I do not want it to appear that the Senator from Wisconsin asked me a question and I refused to answer it. That is satisfactory to me.

Mr. BURROWS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. There are other suggestions to be made in this connection, if the Senator pleases, if we are going into it.

Mr. BURROWS. The Senator must see where it will lead if we are now to enter upon a discussion of the merits of the various propositions contained in the bill, and if persisted in I will be unable to conclude within the time I should feel warranted in occupying.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I was about to say to the Senator from Michigan that the only reason why I do not make one or two other suggestions in addition to the one made by my friend, the honorable Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. QUARLES], was because I did not think the Senator from Michigan desired the logical sequence of his statement to be broken into.

Mr. BURROWS. I do not desire to have a discussion of any of these side issues now. All these matters can and will be considered later under the fifteen-minute debate, and I trust Senators will forego their consideration until they properly arise.

Mr. President, the bill of the majority also provides for estab-

lishing a mint at the city of Manila for coinage purposes, and for a general system of currency adapted to the commercial necessities of the people; and finally the Philippine government is authorized to grant franchises, privileges, and concessions for the construction and operation of works of public utility and service, subject always to amendment, alteration, or repeal by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. President, I have now accomplished the only purpose I had in the beginning—to place before the Senate the policy of the Government in dealing with the Philippines, as outlined in the pending measure.

It will be seen that the bill of the majority provides a most elaborate system of civil administration for the government of the Philippine Islands, which in its practical operation it is hoped and believed will develop the material resources of the islands, advance the industrial interests of their inhabitants, and promote the civilization, peace, and prosperity of the whole people. All this, it is frankly admitted, is to be done under American sovereignty, and so far as this measure is concerned without promise or expressed purpose, for the present, at least, of surrendering that sovereignty or abandoning the control of the islands.

The proposition of the minority, as frankly stated, points in another direction and in the express terms of the substitute, to the "relinquishment of all claims of sovereignty over, or title to the Philippine Islands," to the calling of a convention of the various peoples and tribes in the islands for the purpose of forming a constitution "for and by the people," which when formulated that fact shall be certified to the President of the United States, whose duty it shall be, in the language of the substitute, "to issue his proclamation declaring the independence of the people of the archipelago; and that they constitute an independent State and nation; and that within sixty days from the election and inauguration of the officers provided for by such constitution, the President shall cause the armed forces of the United States to be withdrawn from the archipelago."

This proposition of the minority calls a halt in our course, and commands our forces, civil and military, to "mark time," while the proposed convention deliberates, taking no thought for the development of the islands; no thought for the establishment of industries; no thought for the betterment and uplifting of the people under the beneficent sway of American sovereignty; but is intent only upon the abandonment of the islands and consigning them to an uncertain, and I confidently believe, disastrous future.

That I may not do the minority an injustice in thus characterizing their policy, I beg to insert in this connection a copy of the proposed substitute:

Amendment, in the nature of a substitute, intended to be proposed by Mr. RAWLINS to the bill (S. 2295) temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes, viz: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. That, subject to the provisions hereinafter set forth, the United States of America hereby relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands.

SEC. 2. That the United States shall continue to occupy and govern said archipelago until the people thereof have established a government, and until sufficient guaranties have been obtained for the performance of our treaty obligations with Spain and for the safety of those inhabitants who have adhered to the United States, and for the maintenance and protection of all rights which have accrued under the authority thereof, as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 3. That ninety days after the President of the United States shall have proclaimed that all armed resistance to the United States has ceased in said archipelago the United States Philippine Commission shall make and promulgate rules and regulations for the holding of an election in the provinces of said archipelago for members of a convention, which convention when organized shall proceed to the adoption of a constitution for the government of said archipelago. That all male inhabitants of said archipelago 21 years of age and over who speak and write either the English or Spanish languages or any of the native languages of the said archipelago, and who shall have resided therein for one year, shall be qualified to vote for members of the convention, and any person so qualified as an elector shall be qualified to become a member of said convention. The members of the said convention shall number three hundred, and shall be apportioned by the United States Philippine Commission among the several provinces of said archipelago so that the distribution shall be in proportion to their population as near as may be; and when the said apportionment has been determined upon, the said Commission shall by proclamation order an election of the members for said convention, to be held throughout the said archipelago at such time as shall be fixed by the said Commission, which election shall be held not more than one year from the date of the proclamation by the President of the United States hereinbefore provided for, and ample time shall be given before said election to circulate said proclamation throughout said archipelago and arrange for the holding of the said election.

SEC. 4. That the members of the convention thus elected shall meet at the city of Manila on a day to be fixed by the said United States Philippine Commission not more than ninety days subsequent to the day of election, the time for which meeting shall be stated in the proclamation calling attention to the election aforesaid; and after organization the said convention shall proceed to form a constitution and organize such government as they may deem best adapted to promote the welfare and secure the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of said islands: *Provided*, That said convention shall provide by an ordinance, irrevocable without the consent of the United States:

First. That there shall belong to the United States and continue to be the property thereof such lands and waters as the President of the United States shall designate to the said convention for naval, military, and coaling stations and terminal facilities for submarine cables, the same to continue under the control and sovereignty of the United States.

Second. To carry into effect the treaty obligations of the United States with the Kingdom of Spain, and for the maintenance and protection of all rights and property acquired under the authority of the United States.

Third. That no inhabitant of said archipelago shall ever be molested in person or property on account of his or her adherence to the United States.

SEC. 5. That when the constitution and government shall be formed for and by the people of said archipelago in compliance with the provisions of this act, the said United States Philippine Commission shall certify the fact to the President of the United States, together with a copy of said constitution and ordinances, whereupon it shall be the duty of the President to issue his proclamation declaring the independence of the people of said archipelago, and that they constitute an independent state and nation.

SEC. 6. That the President of the United States is hereby requested to negotiate an agreement between the United States, the said Philippine Archipelago, and Great Britain, Germany, France, and such other powers as he may deem best, providing for its perpetual neutrality and inviolability from all foreign interference, and also for equal opportunities of trade to foreign countries with said archipelago.

SEC. 7. That immediately after the President shall have proclaimed that all armed resistance to the United States has ceased in said archipelago, he is requested to proclaim full amnesty to all the inhabitants thereof for or on account of political offenses and the bearing of arms against the United States, and all Filipinos or inhabitants of said archipelago who have been deported shall be returned to the place from whence they were so deported: *Provided*, That such amnesty shall not apply to any who have violated the rules of civilized warfare or were guilty of murder or torture. That the latter, if any, shall be afforded a speedy trial for their offenses in the civil courts of said archipelago, and be punished or acquitted, as the facts and law may warrant.

SEC. 8. That within 60 days from the election of officers under the constitution to be formed by the said Philippine Archipelago and the inauguration of said officers the President shall cause the armed forces of the United States to be withdrawn from said archipelago as speedily as may be, except such forces as may be maintained in such parts thereof as have been retained by the United States for naval, military, and coaling stations and terminal facilities for cables; and the President of the United States and the Secretary of War shall make all needful regulations to carry into effect the provisions of this act.

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to promote the welfare and establish the independence of the Philippine Islands."

Mr. President, these are, in substance, the two measures before the Senate; and they fairly present, as I have said, the conflicting opinions of the Senate and the American people upon this great question. Which course shall be pursued is the vital and all-absorbing issue, and all other questions are incidental and insignificant as compared with this.

If the water cure has been administered to some persons in arms against the Government, that is no reason why we should abandon the islands or surrender our sovereignty.

Mr. President, I do not propose to consider or trace the various steps which led up to our occupancy of the Philippine Islands, over which the United States is to-day asserting its sovereignty. Nor will I stop now to inquire who fired the first shot or who is responsible for the inauguration of the conflict. These questions belong to the past and to history, and their consideration at this time can not, in my judgment, contribute in the slightest degree to the solution of the problem immediately confronting the American people.

We are in the Philippines, and what shall be our future policy in relation to their government is the sole question before the Senate. Shall we continue our present course, or shall we "about face" and abandon it for that course suggested by the minority?

And, first, let me say that the bill of the majority is in line with the avowed policy of the Government toward the Philippine people from the beginning—from our first occupation of the islands until this hour. It is not a hastily formed plan or an untried experiment. It is only the continuation and consummation of that policy in which there has been no variableness or shadow of turning. That policy is set forth by the Philippine Commission on page 5 of their report, which I will ask to have embodied in my remarks without reading.

The extract referred to is as follows:

1. The supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the archipelago, and those who resist it can accomplish no end other than their own ruin.

2. The most ample liberty of self-government will be granted to the Philippine people which is reconcilable with the maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective, and economical administration of public affairs, and compatible with the sovereign and international rights and obligations of the United States.

3. The civil rights of the Philippine people will be guaranteed and protected to the fullest extent; religious freedom assured, and all persons shall have an equal standing before the law.

4. Honor, justice, and friendship forbid the use of the Philippine people or islands as an object or means of exploitation. The purpose of the American Government is the welfare and advancement of the Philippine people.

5. There shall be guaranteed to the Philippine people an honest and effective civil service, in which, to the fullest extent practicable, natives shall be employed.

6. The collection and application of taxes and revenues will be put upon a sound, honest, and economical basis. Public funds, raised justly and collected honestly, will be applied only in defraying the regular and proper expenses incurred by and for the establishment and maintenance of the Philippine government, and for such general improvements as public interests may demand. Local funds, collected for local purposes, shall not be diverted to other ends. With such a prudent and honest fiscal administration, it is believed that the needs of the government will in a short time become compatible with a considerable reduction in taxation.

7. A pure, speedy, and effective administration of justice will be established, whereby the evils of delay, corruption, and exploitation will be effectually eradicated.

8. The construction of roads, railroads, and other means of communication and transportation, as well as other public works of manifest advantage to the Philippine people, will be promoted.

9. Domestic and foreign trade and commerce, agriculture, and other indus-

trial pursuits, and the general development of the country in the interest of its inhabitants, will be constant objects of solicitude and fostering care.

10. Effective provision will be made for the establishment of elementary schools in which the children of the people shall be educated. Appropriate facilities will be provided for higher education.

11. Reforms in all departments of the government, in all branches of the public service, and in all corporations closely touching the common life of the people must be undertaken without delay and effected, conformably to right and justice, in a way that will satisfy the well-founded demands and the highest sentiments and aspirations of the Philippine people.

Mr. BURROWS. I also ask leave to print as a part of my remarks an extract from the report of the Taft Commission, found on page 148 of their report, giving the conclusions of that body, and showing that the bill of the majority is in line with and carries out in the main the suggestions of the Commission and the policy of the United States.

The extract referred to is as follows:

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

The Commission recommends—

1. That Congress make appropriations to construct posts or garrisons for the army outside of the towns, so that they shall not be quartered in the towns.

2. That Congress be requested to confirm the legislation of the Commission already enacted, and vest by Congressional enactment in the civil governor, and Commission, and their successors to be appointed by the President, the authority heretofore exercised by them under the instructions of the President, with the limitations therein contained, until January 1, 1904; and that provision be made in such legislation for a government to begin on January 1, 1904, and to be composed of a governor and the heads of four executive departments, to be appointed by the President; of an executive council, to consist of the governor and the four heads of departments, and four others, to be appointed by the President (the executive council to consist both of Americans and Filipinos), and of a popular assembly of not exceeding 30 representatives, to be elected from districts to be determined after a census of the Filipino population in the islands; that in such government the members of the popular assembly shall serve for a term of two years, and the popular assembly shall be limited to an annual session of three months, from the 1st of January to the 1st of April, except as this may be extended by call of the governor for a definite period in extra session; that the power of the popular assembly shall be that of a coordinate branch of the legislature, except that in the case of appropriation bills, if the popular assembly shall fail to vote the appropriations required by law during its regular session of three months the right to vote such necessary appropriations shall vest in the executive council; that the governor shall have the power to veto the legislation of the two chambers unless the same shall be again passed by a two-thirds vote of both houses; that Congress shall have full power to abrogate all legislation, and that by a joint vote of the popular assembly and the executive council two delegates, who shall be residents of the islands, shall be elected to represent the interests of these islands and the Filipino people before Congress and the Executive at Washington, their expenses and salaries to be paid from the insular treasury.

3. That the Commission be authorized to issue bonds of the insular government with which to buy up the agricultural holdings and other property of the religious orders, to purchase the same, and to sell lands thus acquired, preferably to the present tenants on easy payments, and be required to use the proceeds of the sales as a sinking fund with which to meet the bonds issued.

4. That an appeal be granted from the supreme court of the islands to the Supreme Court of the United States in the San José College case, and in all cases between the insular government and the Catholic Church, or any of its dependencies, in respect to the ownership or administration of trust or other property in the Philippine Islands.

* * * * *
6. That the Commission be given power to itself issue bonds for the city of Manila, or to authorize the municipal board to do so in an amount not exceeding \$4,000,000, sufficient to make needed improvements in the water supply and the sewerage and drainage system.

7. That the Commission be given power to grant street-railway, electric-light, telephone, and other municipal franchises in the towns of the islands, subject to the confirmation of the President.

8. That the Commission be given authority to pass a general public-land law, making provision for the acquisition of homestead rights, the perfect-

ing of titles of those who have in good faith settled upon public lands and improved the same, and public auction sales of the public lands at a fixed minimum price per acre in tracts of comparatively large extent, and upon such other conditions as the Commission may impose; and that this authority shall include the right of the Commission to grant to the pueblos commons from the public lands.

9. That the Commission be authorized to continue the present regulations of the cutting of timber, with such modifications as experience may show to be wise.

10. That the Commission be authorized to pass a mining law having a general resemblance to the United States mining laws, with such modifications as the local conditions require.

11. That the Commission be given power to pass a general incorporation law for the conducting of legitimate businesses by corporations.

12. That the Commission be given special authority to issue charters to commercial railroads, with power to make donations of lands, or guarantee the interest on the investments, or both; such grants to be subject to the approval of the President of the United States.

13. That Congress enact a general coinage law providing for the establishment of a gold standard, with local silver currency, and shall confer power upon the Commission, by a gold reserve and otherwise, to maintain the parity between the gold standard and the local currency, as indicated in the body of the report.

14. That Congress shall enact a general banking law for the islands, providing for the establishment of national banks in the islands, with branches in various parts of the islands and in the United States, for the establishment of branches in these islands of national banks located in the United States, for the carrying on and supervision of other banks not national, and for the establishment of mortgage land banks; all as outlined in the body of this report.

15. That Congress shall enact a law authorizing the Commission to appropriate the Spanish and insurrectionary seized funds now in the treasury of the islands to the making of a school fund or for the use of the provinces in which such funds were captured.

* * * * *
17. That Congress shall enact a law appropriating a sum sufficient to reimburse the insular treasury for the amount expended in the purchase and fitting of certain Spanish gunboats turned over to the Navy and now used by that Department.

WM. H. TAFT.
DEAN C. WORCESTER.
LUKE E. WRIGHT.
HENRY C. IDE.
BERNARD MOSES.

NOTE.—The three Filipino commissioners were not installed in office until the 1st of September, 1901, and as the period covered by this report is from the 1st of December, 1900, until the 1st of October, 1901, it was agreed between the commissioners that it would be more just to make this report as the report of the original Commission rather than that of the Commission as at present constituted. The three Filipino commissioners, however, having read this report, agreed in the recommendations as to the form of a permanent central civil government to be established.

Mr. BURROWS. The bill before us is in furtherance of that end, an end to be attained, let me say, not by the harsh instrumentality of war alone, but by the gentler means of civil administration. Much has been said of the harshness of military rule, and I have been surprised that the minority, in view of their criticisms, should so persistently resist the efforts of the majority and of the Government to relieve the people of military control and put in its place civil administration.

The purpose of this Government from the beginning has been, so soon and so far as our sovereignty was established in the islands, to subordinate military rule to civil control, to employ the military only when necessary, and to establish civil authority whenever and wherever possible.

This was President McKinley's policy in the beginning, as announced in his message to Congress in December, 1899. I quote from that document:

As long as the insurrection continues the military arm must necessarily be supreme. But there is no reason why steps should not be taken from time

to time to inaugurate governments essentially popular in their form as fast as territory is held and controlled by our troops. To this end I am considering the advisability of the return of the Commission, or such of the members thereof as can be secured, to aid the existing authorities and facilitate this work throughout the islands. I have believed that reconstruction should not begin by the establishment of one central civil government for all the islands, with its seat at Manila, but rather that the work should be commenced by building up from the bottom, first establishing municipal governments and then provincial governments, a central government at last to follow.

In execution of that purpose, it will be remembered that a second commission was appointed, with Judge Taft at its head, who entered upon the work of establishing civil government in the Philippine Islands under instructions from the President of the United States; which instructions set forth so clearly the purposes of the Government in this regard that I beg to quote therefrom. The President said:

It is probable that the transfer of authority from military commanders to civil officers will be gradual and will occupy a considerable period. Its successful accomplishment and the maintenance of peace and order in the meantime will require the most perfect cooperation between the civil and military authorities in the island, and both should be directed during the transition period by the same executive department.

Without hampering them by too specific instructions, they should in general be, after making themselves familiar with the conditions and needs of the country, enjoined to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order, and loyalty.

The next subject in order of importance should be the organization of government in the larger administrative divisions corresponding to counties, departments, or provinces in which the common interests of many or several municipalities falling within the same tribal lines or the same natural geographical limits may best be subserved by a common administration. Whenever the Commission is of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the islands is such that the central administration may safely be transferred from military to civil control they will report that conclusion to you, with their recommendations as to the form of central government to be established for the purpose of taking over the control.

And further:

Beginning with the 1st day of September, 1900, the authority to exercise, subject to my approval, through the Secretary of War, that part of the power of Government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature is to be transferred from the military governor of the islands to this Commission, to be thereafter exercised by them in the place and stead of the military governor.

That in all cases the municipal officers, who administer the local affairs of the people, are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others. * * *

It will be necessary to fill some offices for the present with Americans, which after a time may well be filled by natives of the islands. * * *

It will be the duty of the Commission to promote and extend, and, as they find occasion, to improve the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. * * *

Let me supplement this with what Governor Taft said before our Committee on the Philippine Islands. I quote from page 57 of the hearings:

I have studied, of course, the instructions issued by President McKinley with a great deal of care, and have watched their operation in the development of the government of those islands, and perhaps it is my intimacy with them and my interest in their operation that make me say that I think they constitute one of the greatest state papers ever issued in operating as they

were intended to operate and in bringing about a state of affairs that they intended to bring about; and their operation was this: There was insurrection in the country. How far that insurrection attracted the sympathy of all the people is of course a mere matter of opinion, upon which there will always be a substantial difference. That there were two parties, however—those who favored the exclusion of American sovereignty altogether, and a substantial party who favored the government which we are now establishing—is undoubtedly true; and that there was a large body of ignorant people who were entirely indifferent, provided peace could be established and they could be protected from oppression and violence and assault, and who had very few political ideas at all, is also true.

Senator BEVERIDGE. This third division is the great body of all!

Governor TAFT. Yes; ignorant people.

Now, the problem there was on the one hand to suppress the insurrection, and that had to be done with the Army. On the other hand, it was to teach the people that our purpose was not to continue a military government, but by object lessons to show them what civil government was by legislation and by putting it into force.

Now, here was a dual government. There was the military arm on the one hand and there was the civil arm on the other, and the effect of those instructions—you can see it operate every day—was to bring the Filipino—and I do not except anybody in that statement; I do not even except the insurgents—to bring the people into more friendly relations with the civil government than with the military government.

The conduct of a dual form of government of that sort was of course difficult. The instructions were framed so that they have worked. But the coming into the minds of the people a consciousness of the existence of power in the civil government and its effect on them, and the gradually placing more and more power in the civil government, which the instructions contemplated, have had a marvelous effect in showing the people what our purpose was.

War is hard; war is rough; war is cruel; and when the death and the suffering that were caused to many Filipinos were known to their brethren, it is not reasonable to expect that they should love the instrument by which that punishment was inflicted. And that speaks the greatness of these instructions, that accompanying the necessary instrument in suppressing that insurrection was another instrument, the civil government, winning, almost by contrast, you might say, the affection and confidence of the Filipino people. The hand that drew those instructions followed a brain that understood human nature, and the working out of them in the short two years is a vindication of that judgment.

But, on behalf of the Commission, I think I may say that we have had chiefly in mind always the good of the Filipino people; that we have been attempting to gain their confidence, to make them feel that we are anxious to give them the best government possible, and to secure them in the enjoyment of such rights as will enable them to progress and achieve contentment and prosperity.

Gentlemen who think that that is an impossibility—and included amongst such classes are the men whom I have mentioned—disagree with us. Whatever the cause, I assert without hesitation on my part that the Philippine people as a people sympathize with the Commission in its efforts, welcome us to every part of the islands, and have confidence in our attempt to bring good to them.

This letter of President McKinley's to which I have referred, and concerning which Governor Taft has spoken, was the chart by which we have thus far directed our course in this venturesome and, I grant you, perilous voyage. This policy of subordinating military to civil rule was further clearly and tersely set forth by the able Secretary of War in his report for the year 1901, from which I desire to make a single quotation.

The policy contemplated—

Says the Secretary—

The policy contemplated in the instructions of April 7, and followed by the War Department, has been to steadily press forward, as rapidly as it could be done safely and thoroughly, the gradual substitution of government through civil agents for government through military agents, so that the administration of the military officer shall be continually narrowed, and that of the civil officer continually enlarged, until the time comes when the army can, without impairing the peace and order of the country, be relegated to the same relation toward the government which it occupies in the United States. In this way we have avoided the premature abandonment of any power necessary to enforce the authority of the United States, and at the same time have held open to the people of every community the opportunity

to escape from the stringency of military rule by uniting with us in effective measures to bring about peaceful conditions in the territory which they inhabit.

This, Mr. President, has been the wise and humane policy of the Government from the beginning. In the forceful words of the Secretary of War—

The administration of the military officer shall be continually narrowed, and that of the civil officer continually enlarged, until the time comes when the army can, without impairing the peace and order of the country, be relegated to the same relation toward the government which it occupies in the United States.

* * * * *

Mr. BURROWS. In this connection I submit a chronological statement showing the provincial governments already established, the islands or groups of islands in which they are located, their dependent islands, and their approximate areas and populations, exhibiting the extent of territory over which civil government has been established and the population of the islands brought under control of civil government.

Chronological statement showing provincial governments established by acts of the Philippine Commission; also the islands or group of islands in which they are located, their dependent islands, and their approximate areas and population May 15, 1902.

Provinces.	Island or group.	Date of act.	Area. ^a	Number of dependent islands.	Population. ^a
Benguet	Luzon	1900. Nov. 23	Sq. m. 990	-----	15,175
Pampanga	do	1901. Feb. 13	2,209	-----	223,922
Pangasinan	do	Feb. 16	1,316	-----	302,178
Tarlac	do	Feb. 18	1,295	-----	89,339
Bulacan	do	Feb. 27	841	-----	239,221
Bataan	do	Mar. 2	436	1	50,761
Tayabas	do	Mar. 12	2,334	8	109,780
Romblon	Visayas	Mar. 16	515	32	55,339
Masbate (Masbate)	do	Mar. 18	1,315	46	23,069
Iloilo (Panay)	do	Apr. 11	2,102	80	462,444
Antique (Panay)	do	Apr. 13	1,340	6	115,434
Capiz (Panay)	do	Apr. 15	1,661	30	224,000
Cebu	do	Apr. 18	1,782	29	518,032
Bohol	do	Apr. 20	1,614	59	260,000
Negros Occidental	do	Apr. 20	3,112	14	231,512
Negros Oriental	do	Apr. 20	1,742	3	140,498
Leyte	do	Apr. 22	4,214	40	270,491
Albay	Luzon	Apr. 26	1,711	21	228,139
Ambos Camarines	do	Apr. 27	3,161	83	194,022
Sorsogon	do	Apr. 30	675	16	98,050
Marinduque	Visayas	May 1	681	13	48,000
Batangas ^b	Luzon	May 2	1,108	28	311,180
Surigab	Mindanao	May 15	13,201	83	85,125
Misamis	do	May 15	5,879	5	126,942
Rizal	Luzon	June 11	1,048	3	246,940
Cavite	do	June 11	610	7	134,569
Nueva Ecija	do	June 11	3,840	-----	156,610
La Union	do	Aug. 15	867	-----	110,164
Ilocos Sur	do	Aug. 16	491	2	215,792
Abra	do	Aug. 19	1,964	-----	57,285
Ilocos Norte	do	Aug. 20	1,265	4	163,349
Cagayan	do	Aug. 22	5,291	46	96,367
Isabela	do	Aug. 24	5,395	2	48,302
Zambales	do	Aug. 28	2,210	76	87,295
Nueva Vizcaya	do	1902. Jan. 28.	1,075	-----	60,628

^a Approximate.

^b Restored to executive control of military governor July 17, 1901.

Mr. BURROWS. I will also submit certain memoranda taken from official sources showing the provinces, districts, and islands in the Philippine Archipelago in which conditions have been such as not to require military interference since American occupation; also a table showing the date of the last engagement, skirmish, or affair in the several provinces, districts, and islands where there have been military operations.

AMERICAN SUBDIVISIONS.

Since American occupation in the Philippines the island of Luzon has been divided into 27 provinces, in 22 of which provincial government has been established, and in 5 only is a military government now maintained.

LATEST MILITARY OPERATIONS.

Statement showing the date of the last skirmish in each of the several provinces or islands in the Philippines, in which there has been military operations, as shown by the reports received in the Adjutant-General's Office.

Province or island.	Date.	Province or island.	Date.
Masbate Island.....	Oct. 12, 1900	Nueva Ecija Province...	May 19, 1901
Cagayan Province.....	Nov. 15, 1900	Paragua Island.....	June 25, 1901
Pangasinan Province.....	Nov. 28, 1900	Panay Island.....	July 1, 1901
Catanduanes Island.....	Jan. 8, 1901	Albay Province.....	July 4, 1901
Burias Island.....	Feb. 4, 1901	Camarines Sur.....	Aug. 15, 1901
Surigao Province.....	Feb. 20, 1901	Negros Island.....	Sept. 5, 1901
Marinduque Island.....	Feb. 22, 1901	Cebu Island.....	Oct. 30, 1901
Tarlac Province.....	Mar. 11, 1901	Sorsogon Province.....	Do.
Zambales Province.....	Mar. 17, 1901	Camarines Norte.....	Nov. 27, 1901
Benguet Province.....	Mar. 25, 1901	Morong Province.....	Nov. 29, 1901
Manila Province.....	Mar. 29, 1901	Ilocos Norte Province.....	Dec. 21, 1901
Union Province.....	Apr. 2, 1901	Bohol Province.....	Dec. 24, 1901
Lepanto Province.....	Apr. 3, 1901	Mindoro Island.....	Jan. 15, 1902
Bataan Province.....	Apr. 5, 1901	Cavite Province.....	Feb. 1, 1902
Pampanga Province.....	Do.	Leyte Island.....	Feb. 10, 1902
Ilocos Sur Province.....	Apr. 14, 1901	Laguna Province.....	Feb. 14, 1902
Bulacan Province.....	Apr. 24, 1901	Tayabas Province.....	Feb. 15, 1902
Abra Province.....	Apr. 27, 1901	Samar Island.....	Feb. 22, 1902
Infanta Province.....	May 5, 1901	Cotabato Province.....	Mar. 15, 1902
Isabela Province.....	Do.	Botangas Province.....	Apr. 16, 1902
Nueva Vizcaya Province.....	May 19, 1901	Misamis Province.....	May 3, 1902

The Adjutant-General, in referring to the above list, states:

"The engagements should be known as skirmishes, not even 'affairs,' possibly scouting parties' attacks would be better; any military phrase gives too much dignity—these of late date have been neither skirmishes, engagements, nor affairs."

PROVINCES NEVER IN INSURRECTION.

The following list comprises the provinces, districts, and islands in which there have been no military operations since American occupancy, as there has never existed any insurrection requiring aid of the military.

Amburayan, Apayaos, Balabac, Baras, Basilan, Batanes, Binatangan, Bongao, Bontoc, Butuan, Cabuguan, Calamianes, Cayapa, Concepcion, Corregidor, Dapitan, Dayao, Itaves, Iligan, Lanao, Levac, Malabang, Matti, Principe, Quiangan, Reina Regente, Romblon, Sarangani Bay and Islands, Siasi, Sulu, Tataan, Tiagan, Tukuran, Zamboanga, Rizal.¹

Mr. BURROWS. The Senate Committee on Philippine Affairs was instructed by the Senate to investigate existing conditions in respect of both civil and military affairs in the archipelago. In carrying out those instructions the committee called for and re-

¹Rizal is a new province containing a portion of the territory formerly included in the province of Manila.

ceived the reports of the governors of the several provinces into which the islands are divided. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER] presented a synopsis of these reports to the Senate and they need not, therefore, be reproduced. I call attention, however, to the fact that these governors are generally natives of the islands, and were elected to their offices by the inhabitants of the provinces over which they preside. The showing made by these reports ought to be convincing proof of the success of our efforts to establish civil government, and exceedingly gratifying to every loyal American who desires to promote the general welfare of the people of the Philippines.

The following is a syllabus of these reports:

Abra.—Conditions peaceful, people prosperous, education excellent.

Albay.—Peaceful, prosperous, work plenty, crops and schools good.

Ambos Camarines.—Absolute peace, people content, good schools.

Antique.—No acts of hostility for over a year, people contented.

Bataan.—Peaceful, prosperous, schools popular, well attended.

Benguet.—Everything peaceful, sentiment favorable to Americans.

Bulacan.—Sublimely peaceful; people appreciate conditions.

Batangas.—No report from governor.

Bohol.—Conditions have been varied, becoming pacified fast.

Cagayan.—Peaceful, people busy and contented; good schools.

Capiz.—Ready to fight for peace; fine schools.

Cavite.—Peace and order prevail, civil government successful.

Cebu.—Conditions have been disturbed, becoming peaceful.

Ilocos Sur.—Completely pacified, people busy and contented.

Ilocos Norte.—General satisfaction among the natives.

Iloilo.—Could not be more satisfactory, excellent schools.

Isabela.—Peace reigns, finances strong, and conditions satisfactory.

La Union.—Uniform peace; financially, morally otherwise strong.

Leyte.—Peace conditions satisfactory, people happy and contented.

Marinduque.—People perfectly satisfied, education flattering.

Masbate.—Peace established, people thankful for conditions.

Misamis.—Disturbed conditions, peace returning gradually.

Negros Occidental.—Era of contentment and love reigns.

Negros Oriental.—Conditions favorable, strong financially.

Nueva Ecija.—Conditions pleasant, good crops, people contented.

Nueva Vizcaya.—No report from governor.

Pampanga.—Peaceful, educated people, unexcelled conditions.

Pangasinan.—Perfect peace, great activity, good schools.

Rizal.—No report from governor.

Romblon.—Perfect tranquillity, education desired, finances good.

Sorsogon.—Peace conditions improving.

Surigao.—Perfect tranquillity, contentment, and prosperity.

Tabayas.—Governor Gardener's report only.

Tarlac.—Conditions peaceful, good crops, finances strong.

Stations occupied and American troops serving in each province in the Philippine Islands, May 31, 1901, and May 10, 1902.

Province.	May 31, 1901.		May 10, 1902.	
	Number of stations.	Number of companies.	Number of stations.	Number of companies.
Abra	12	9	.....	.....
Albay	9	7	2	3
Batangas	13	15	18	14
Bataan	7	4	1	1
Benguet	1	1	.....	.....
Bongao (island)	1	1	.....	.....
Bohol (island)	5	4	1	1
Bulacan	19	10	3	2
Busuanga .....	.....	.....	1	1
Camarines	23	14	9	8
Capul .....	.....	.....	1	Det.
Cagayan	16	6	4	6
Catanduanes (island)	2	1	.....	.....
Cavite	11	12	11	8
Cebu (island)	14	10	4	7
Corregidor (island)	1	1	.....	.....
Ilocos Norte, Luzon	16	11	7	12
Ilocos Sur, Luzon	16	18	.....	.....
Isabela	14	6	8	6
Jolo (island)	1	3	.....	.....
Laguna	20	20	25	21
Lepanto	1	1	.....	.....
Leyte (island)	2	1	.....	.....
Marinduque (island)	4	6	3	3
Masbate (island)	1	2	1	2
Mindanao (island)	15	19	21	32
Mindoro .....	.....	.....	6	6
Morong	4	2	.....	.....
Negros (island)	33	8	3	2
Nueva Ecija	18	21	5	4
Nueva Vizcaya	5	2	.....	.....
Pampanga	14	12	3	3
Pangasinan	26	27	14	12
Panay (island)	51	18	6	8
Paragna (island)	1	1	2	1
Principe	1	1	1	1
Rizal	14	71	18	40
Romblon (island)	1	1	1	1
Samar (island)	6	8	37	35
Siassi (island)	1	2	1	1
Sorsogon	5	3	5	4
Tarlac	12	13	4	4
Tawi Tawi .....	.....	.....	1	1
Tayabas	19	11	15	17
Union	13	12	.....	.....
Zambales	21	13	3	4
Total	469	408	245	271

NOTE.—The province of Rizal includes the city of Manila.

From this table it appears that on the 31st day of May, 1901, there were 469 military stations in the Philippine Islands, and on the 10th of May, 1902, there were only 245 stations or posts, a reduction, as it will be seen, in a single year of 224 stations.

Let me state further in this connection that of these 245 posts existing to-day, 55 are in the disturbed provinces of Samar and Batangas, leaving but 190 military posts outside these provinces to keep the peace and preserve order in the entire archipelago.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Will the Senator from Michigan allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. And these are being very rapidly supplanted by native constabulary.

Mr. BURROWS. Yes. I thank the Senator for the suggestion. These remaining posts are greater in number to-day than they would be if there were facilities for housing and caring for troops at central points.

The reduction of our military force in the Philippine Islands during the last four years has been no less remarkable than the diminution of the number of posts. It appears from the official reports of the War Department that the whole number of troops serving in the Philippine Islands since the 30th of June, 1898 (the date of our first landing in Manila), to May 1, 1902, was 4,006 officers and 122,787 men.

The maximum strength, as appears by official reports in the Philippine Islands at any one time, including officers and men, was in the month of December, 1900, when it aggregated 69,420. Since that date there has been a gradual but steady retirement of our force as civil rule has been extended, and I will insert here a table showing the progressive reduction of our forces in the archipelago during last year.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. There are only 33,000 there to-day.

Mr. BURROWS. The official table I present discloses the facts.

1901.	
January	67,393
February	61,924
March	55,781
April	57,940
May	55,155
June	50,074
July	49,227
August	47,354
September	43,283
October	43,145
November	43,251
December	37,072

1902.	
January	36,944
February (latest report)	33,830

The estimated strength of troops there at present is about 32,000, including Hospital Corps, and exclusive of Philippine scouts.

In this connection it should be noted that orders have already been issued by the Secretary of War for the further withdrawal of troops from the Philippines, and it is safe to say that by the time Congress shall next assemble in regular session the military forces in the Philippines will be reduced to 18,000, or possibly 15,000, men.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator a question in this connection?

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator if there is as yet any disciplined and armed force of Filipinos in the service of our Government; if, from the friendly persons whom we understand to be there in such large numbers, any force has been armed and officered by Filipinos?

Mr. BURROWS. I will say in answer that we have provided for a constabulary force.

Mr. HOAR. I am not speaking of constables. I am speaking of soldiers.

Mr. BURROWS. I do not know that we have any considerable force of enlisted natives in the military service.

Mr. HOAR. Is there as yet any body of Filipinos enlisted, armed, and disciplined, with Filipino officers, trusted with sword or gun; and if so, what is the number of such soldiers?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Will the Senator from Michigan permit me?

Mr. BURROWS. I will yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. With the exception of the last word, "soldiers," there is. There is a force which we have recruited with great care, consisting exclusively so far as the rank and file are concerned of Filipinos, which is armed, uniformed, and drilled.

Mr. HOAR. And disciplined?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Armed and uniformed and disciplined by American officers. My recollection upon the particular point I am going to mention now is not accurate, but I think the third-class inspectors, so called, are Filipinos.

Mr. HOAR. As to the number?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. As to the total number, the total of the armed and disciplined constabulary—

Mr. HOAR. No; I mean Filipinos.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I am speaking of Filipinos, just as the Senator from Massachusetts speaks of Filipinos.

Mr. HOAR. I am not asking about constables.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. You used the word "soldiers."

Mr. HOAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. The situation is that there is now, and rapidly increasing up to the maximum number of 5,000 men, an armed, uniformed, disciplined, drilled force of Filipinos under the control of American officers called inspectors.

Mr. BURROWS. I think—

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me for a moment, I put the question to the Senator from Michigan and not to anyone else. While I am quite delighted to have an answer from any gentleman who has investigated it, it does not help me to say there is something else there than about which I inquired.

I think it would be a very interesting thing, in regard to our knowledge of the real reconciliation, to know whether or not we can have a regiment of armed, disciplined, Filipino soldiers, officered by Filipinos—whether that time has yet come. It does not help the answer to that question to get up and talk about constabulary and about men governed by American inspectors. They are not a body of men who can combine. After the war, when we had disturbed times in the South, during reconstruction, they would not, in certain places, allow the negroes to form military companies. That is power. Now, if men are on your side—

Mr. BURROWS. Will the Senator pardon me—

Mr. HOAR. And if you trust them with power, we want to know it.

Mr. BURROWS. I understand the Senator has his answer.

Mr. HOAR. It has not been made. There has not been any answer made to my question—not the slightest.

Mr. LODGE. Will the Senator from Michigan allow me?

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. We have had in the Army, not in the constabulary at all, as high as 8,000 Filipino troops. I think I have the figures correct. Some of the generals before our committee were questioned in regard to it and testified to the loyalty of those troops. General Hughes said that the percentage—

Mr. HOAR. I do not mean Macabebes, but Filipinos.

Mr. LODGE. Macabebes are Filipinos. They are Christianized Filipinos of the same race exactly.

Mr. HOAR. Oh, well.

Mr. LODGE. They are of precisely the same race as the others. There is no difference between them.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. President—

Mr. LODGE. One moment. Not only Macabebes but others. We had at one time as many as 5,000 Macabebes. We had other enlisted Filipinos in other islands where there are no Macabebes at all. In General Hughes's division we had Filipinos enlisted, Visayans, and the General stated, whom I asked about their fidelity—said that the percentage of desertion among them was less than among the American troops, notwithstanding the fact that desertion among the American troops in those distant islands was exceedingly small. He stated that they were very loyal and very faithful and did very good work.

Mr. HOAR. That is an answer.

Mr. BURROWS. I am very much obliged to the Senator from Massachusetts, who has given his colleague the information as to the number of enlisted natives. It, however, in no way affected the statement I was making that the United States has steadily withdrawn its military force, and it will be still further reduced so that by the 1st of next December or the 1st of January, 1903, the military forces of the United States in the islands will not exceed 18,000 and probably not more than 15,000.

It will thus be seen that the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands have been almost entirely relieved of the severities of military rule and are in the full enjoyment of a large measure of civil liberty and peaceful government—larger than they ever before enjoyed during four hundred years of Spanish rule.

Mr. President, at this point with the work of pacification and the establishment of orderly government so nearly accomplished, it is proposed to abandon this policy and commit the fate of these islands to their native inhabitants. They are to be permitted to undertake the experiment of establishing an independent government. The difficulty, in my judgment, with the proposition of the minority to give independent government to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands lies in the fact, in the first place, that they are not now capable of establishing and maintaining such a government. If I believed them capable of doing so, I would for one unhesitatingly accord it to them. I hate a tyrant, whether an individual or a nation, and I commiserate a slave, whether a man or a people.

I was profoundly impressed, as was the Senate and the country, with the recent utterances of the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts, whose words will not soon be forgotten; and, indeed, it will be a sad day for the Republic when such patriotic sentiments find no responsive chord in the hearts of the American people. And I believe if the time shall ever come when a majority of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands shall desire and be able to establish an independent and stable government insuring

protection to life, liberty, and property, and the performance of international obligations, the American people will gladly accord to them the full measure of national independence.

In support of the proposition that the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands are not now capable of self-government, I desire to quote some authorities which ought to come home to the Senate and the country with convincing force.

It is idle to talk and speculate about a free, independent, and stable government with a people who are not capable of forming or maintaining it. I desire to read from the report of the Taft Commission, a commission which has been on the ground, and which certainly ought to know as much about the subject as we do. I read from the report, at page 82:

While the peoples of the Philippine Islands ardently desire a full measure of rights and liberties, they do not, in the opinion of the Commission, generally desire independence. Hundreds of witnesses testified on this subject to the Commission and its individual members, and, though they represented all possible varieties of opinion—many of them being in sympathy with the insurgents—they were uniform in their testimony that, in view of the ignorance and political inexperience of the masses of the people, the multiplicity of languages, the divergencies of culture and mode of life, and the obstacles to intercommunication, an independent sovereign Philippine state was at the present time neither possible nor desirable, even if its poverty and internal weakness and lack of coherence would not invite, and the dissatisfaction of aliens entail, the intervention of foreign powers with the inevitable result of the division of the archipelago among them and the disappearance forever of the dream and hope of a united and self-governing Philippine commonwealth. The Philippine Islands, even the most patriotic declare, can not at the present time stand alone. They need the tutelage and protection of the United States.

The first Commission concluded their report on this subject on page 121 by saying, among other things:

The Filipinos are wholly unprepared for independence, and if independence were given to them they could not maintain it.

The second or Taft Commission in their first report dated November 30, 1900, say in speaking of the investigation made by the Commission:

Many witnesses were examined as to the form of government best adapted to these islands and satisfactory to the people. All the evidence taken, no matter what the bias of the witness, showed that the masses of the people are ignorant, credulous, and childlike, and that under any government the electoral franchise must be much limited, because the large majority will not, for a long time, be capable of intelligently exercising it. (See page 15.)

And on page 17 they add—

From all the information we can get it seems clear that a great majority of the people long for peace and are entirely willing to accept the establishment of a government under the supremacy of the United States.

In the second report of the Taft Commission, so called, dated October 15, 1901, pages 19 and 20, they state, referring to this subject:

The theory upon which the Commission is proceeding is that the only possible method of instructing the Filipino people in methods of free institutions and self-government is to make a government partly of Americans and partly of Filipinos, giving the Americans the ultimate control for some time to come. In our last report we pointed out that the great body of the people were ignorant, superstitious, and at present incapable of understanding any government but that of absolutism.

* * * * *
 Meantime it is necessary by practical lessons and actual experience to eliminate from the minds of the more intelligent part of the community who form the electorate those ideas of absolutism in government and to impress the conception of a limitation upon power which is now so difficult for them to understand.
 * * * * *

As the government proceeds, this association in actual government will certainly form a nucleus of Filipinos, earnest, intelligent, patriotic, who will become familiar with practical free government and civil liberty. This saving remnant will grow as the years go on, and in it will be the hope of this people.

How long, it is asked, must this education be continued before real results will be accomplished? Of course it is impossible to tell. Certainly a generation—perhaps two generations—will be needed.

These are the deliberately formed and expressed opinions of both commissions sent to the Philippine Islands with instructions to inquire into the conditions of their people.

And now let me supplement the conclusion of the Commission with some testimony taken by the Commission while on the ground and in the islands as to the capacity of these people for self-government.

The first Philippine Commission, under instructions from the President, heard the testimony of numerous witnesses, and among other subjects took evidence on the question of the ability of the Filipinos to conduct self-government. I submit a few extracts from that testimony.

Señor Cayetano S. Arellano is a prominent lawyer in the Philippines, born in Manila, and is at present chief justice of the supreme court of the islands. He ought to know as much about it as we do. To him President Schurman propounded this question:

Q. Can't we give these people a local self-government?

A. In my poor opinion, no. We do not believe them capable of themselves forming a government of themselves, an autonomous government. That is my opinion.

By Colonel DENBY:

Q. What reforms do you think the people desire, and what do you think would be advisable?

A. They desired, for example, to have a representative in the Cortes in Madrid; they desired, furthermore, a part in the administrative government of the islands and the enjoyment of liberty, of which they were deprived. The question of independence was not then raised among them and not until just now—of late.

By President SCHURMAN:

Q. Please state whether they are capable of governing their pueblos without any intervention on the part of the general government at Manila. There are pueblos, there are provinces, and there is the general government at Manila. I am beginning with pueblos, large and small, and I ask you whether the people are capable of governing them without any intervention on the part of the government at Manila?

A. No.

Q. Do you think the provinces are capable of governing themselves without any intervention from the federal government at Manila?

A. To a certain extent, yes. In certain provinces, as, for example, Panganga, the people are sufficiently enlightened to govern themselves in a certain manner; but independent general government, no.

Enrique Lopez, a physician, who was born and has always resided in the Philippines, testified as follows:

Q. Please state briefly the scheme of government which you recommend for the Philippine Islands.

A. I have seen in many of the proclamations the word "autonomy." Autonomy is a word that covers a great deal of ground; it is a word of a very large scope. The American Commission undoubtedly has the greatest desire to give proper liberties to the people, and I wish to present my plan to you. If it is not exactly what the Commission desires, of course there will be various changes in it—modifications, but that is for the Commission and not for me to meddle with. The plan is to have five governors, under the sovereignty of America. The governor-general should be an American, and the sovereignty undoubtedly should be in the United States, without speaking of the army or navy, or anything else.

Q. The political sovereignty?

A. My plan is to have five ministers. A minister of the treasury, of internal affairs—five different ministers of the general government, and they are to be Filipinos partly, Filipinos according to the amplitude of the autonomy.

According as the Commission decides, the number of employees, Filipinos and Americans, would be raised.

Señor Pablo Antonio Martinez, a lawyer, who has resided in Manila for twelve years, testified:

Q. Do you think the Philippine people capable of self-government?

A. I do not believe they are at present.

Q. Do you think they are capable of governing their own pueblos?

A. No, sir.

By Colonel DENBY:

Q. Don't you think that there could be elected to a legislature to hold its sessions in these islands enough intelligent men to pass local laws?

A. How large an assembly? I can answer your question if you will name me the number.

Q. Say 100 for all the islands.

A. I think they might be found by a careful search.

Adolph Von Bosch, a Belgian merchant, who has resided in the Philippines about ten years, testified:

Q. Are they favorable to the Americans, the people?

A. The ordinary people, yes. The workmen, the lower classes and middle classes, those who have interests there, are certainly most decidedly in favor of the Americans. The leading military men and those who call themselves the governors are decidedly not.

Q. The military men are against the Americans?

A. Yes.

Q. Because they have something to lose?

A. Yes; they would lose their positions. It is, according to my view, only a matter of interest which dictates their conduct.

Q. I suppose the great majority of people, then, favor the Americans?

A. Oh, yes; the entire mass—

Q. Eighty or 90 per cent?

A. Put it down at 60.

Q. You think safely 60 per cent?

A. Sixty per cent. I don't think the lower classes have any idea—they have no idea at all about it; no fixed idea.

Q. They have not?

A. But I am sure if they get an American government—

Q. That is to say, they want a good government?

A. Yes; they want a good government. They want to be fairly treated.

Q. Would the Vicols be capable of governing themselves?

A. I don't think so.

Q. Would the Tagalogs?

A. There are some Tagalogs who would be, but it would be a small minority. They would not have sufficient men to form a government.

Q. But the Tagalogs would be fit to occupy subordinate places in the government?

A. Yes; and even of the Vicols there would be—there are some very good men who occupied civil positions under the Spanish Government.

Q. But you think it would be necessary to have Americans at the head?

A. Yes; no government could last for six months under Tagalog rule, according to my opinion.

Angel Fabie, a native Filipino, and formerly captain of a port by appointment from Aguinaldo, and his secretary of marine, says:

Q. Are the people capable of governing themselves?

A. No, sir; they are not educated. They are not educated people, but by and by, when they are more educated after the American fashion, they will be able to govern themselves, and the people will be peaceable and orderly.

Q. And how much American intervention is necessary here to govern them now?

A. I don't know; but, in my opinion, they will be better under American supervision they will be better off with more American officials.

A. Kuensle, a Swiss merchant, importer, who had resided in Manila for fifteen years, referring to the matter of self-government, said:

By General MACARTHUR:

Q. From that you would infer they are not capable of self-government?

A. Certainly not. They would have big fights among themselves.

By President SCHURMAN:

Q. Could they govern themselves in the provinces?

A. No; never. Those who would govern would simply squeeze the people, and after a while dissatisfaction and internal squabbles would come on. They are certainly unfit for self-government.

Q. Are they capable of education in that line?

A. Certainly. I believe there are few natives so intelligent as the Filipinos; but a very small percentage have any education so far. It might be a possibility some thirty or forty years from now for them to know what self-government means.

Q. Have they ever had any example of good government here?

A. No; it has gone from bad to worse.

Q. So that they will need both example and experience?

A. Yes, sir.

Señor Benito Legarda, a resident of Manila, and at one time vice-president of the Filipino congress, so called, referring to the money paid and agreed to be paid to Aguinaldo at the time he left the Philippines for Hongkong, says—I need not read that portion of his testimony, as it relates to another subject:

Q. Did they have at any time during the course of that revolution the idea of fighting for their independence?

A. No; I never heard this word "independence" spoken, nor do I think that they are capable of understanding it even up to this time.

Señor Manuel Xerez, a Filipino, born in Manila, by profession a physician, commenting on the ability of the Filipinos to maintain a government, says:

Q. Do you believe that these people, at this time, are capable of establishing and maintaining a republican form of government, or do you think it better to wait for some years of probation?

A. I think it is too soon at present.

Q. Would you advise that for some time the government should be administered by persons appointed by the United States and that by degrees a republican form of government elected by the people should be established, or would you advise that a republican form of government should be established immediately?

A. I think it should be a mixed government; that the subordinate positions in towns and in provinces could be filled by Filipinos, but always under the supervision of another, who should be an American.

Q. Then do you think, after a given number of years, this government might be turned over to the Filipinos to run themselves?

A. Not in a few years. It would require some time, for it would be necessary to change a great many evil practices here. I think that the Filipinos will need the direction of the Americans for many years. They are educated very much in the Spanish way, and it is necessary to get the Spanish ways eradicated little by little.

This is a part and but a small portion of the testimony of prominent men formerly connected with the Aguinaldo government who tell us that those people are not capable of self-government.

Therefore, Mr. President, to surrender our sovereignty now over the islands as proposed by the minority, would, I believe, result most disastrously to the inhabitants and involve the future of the archipelago in revolution and ruin.

AMERICAN PROTECTORATE.

It will hardly do, with these conditions, to talk about Philippine independence under an American protectorate. We would hardly assume to answer for the acts of a people unfitted for government, over whose conduct we would have no control.

President McKinley, speaking upon this question, as you remember, in his annual message to Congress December 5, 1899, said:

The future government of the Philippines rests with the Congress of the United States. Few graver responsibilities have ever been confided to us. If we accept them in a spirit worthy of our race and our traditions, a great opportunity comes with them. The islands lie under the shelter of our flag. They are ours by every title of law and equity. They can not be abandoned.

If we desert them, we leave them at once to anarchy and finally to barbarism. We fling them, a golden apple of discord, among the rival powers, no one of which could permit another to seize them unquestioned. Their rich plains and valleys would be the scene of endless strife and bloodshed. The advent of Dewey's fleet in Manila Bay instead of being, as we hope, the dawn of a new day of freedom and progress, will have been the beginning of an era of misery and violence worse than any which has darkened their unhappy past.

The suggestion has been made that we could renounce our authority over the islands and, giving them independence, could retain a protectorate over them. This proposition will not be found, I am sure, worthy of your serious attention. Such an arrangement would involve at the outset a cruel breach of faith. It would place the peaceable and loyal majority, who ask nothing better than to accept our authority, at the mercy of the minority of armed insurgents. It would make us responsible for the acts of the insurgent leaders and give us no power to control them. It would charge us with the task of protecting them against each other and defending them against any foreign power with which they chose to quarrel. In short, it would take from the Congress of the United States the power of declaring war and vest that tremendous prerogative in the Tagal leader of the hour.

What says the Commission upon this subject? Let me read a word from the report of the first or Schurman Commission upon this point—*independence with an American protectorate*:

The idea of a protectorate entertained by the insurgent leaders, under which they should enjoy all the powers of an independent sovereign government, and the Americans should assume all obligations to foreign nations for their good use of those powers, would create an impossible situation for the United States. Internal dominion and external responsibility must go hand in hand. Under the chimerical scheme of protection cherished by Aguinaldo, if a foreigner lost his life or property through a miscarriage of justice in a Philippine court or in consequence of a governor's failure to suppress a riot, then the United States would be responsible for indemnity to the foreigner's government, though without possessing the power of punishing the offenders, of preventing such maladministration, or of protecting itself against similar occurrences in the future. Nor could the liability to foreign nations be reduced without permitting them directly to seek redress, and such a course would, it is to be feared, speedily lead to the appropriation of the Philippine Islands by the great powers, who would not need to seek far for pretenses for intervention.

But, Mr. President, the latest and I may say the most convincing evidence upon the propriety of turning the islands over to their inhabitants to establish for themselves such a government as they may choose we find in the testimony given before our committee this very year.

EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

Senator McComas asked this question:

What would happen to them if we withdrew in this fashion?

Governor TAFT. The personal hostility between leading Filipinos at times has been so great as to lead to bloody measures. How far they would be carried here I have no idea. That is conjectural.

I should like to say, if I may, although I had not expected to come to this part of the discussion now, that it is a very logical and reasonable proposition on its face to say, Will not the insurrection come to an end; will not there be general peace and tranquillity if you promise to give these people independence when they shall be fitted for it? That proposition, put in that way, seems to have a great deal of force.

That is the wrong paper. The paper I wanted to read is as follows—

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me, as he is making a very interesting argument, I should like to hear Governor Taft's answer to that question.

Mr. BURROWS. I shall read it in a moment, on another point, but it is not on the point I am now discussing.

Mr. HOAR. Very well.

Mr. BURROWS. Upon the point of their capacity for self-government the governor was asked in relation to that provision of

the minority bill which declares "that the United States shall continue to occupy and govern said archipelago until the people thereof have established a stable government." I read from page 327 of the hearings before our committee:

Senator MCOMAS. I was going to ask how long that would take?

Governor TAFT. I doubt if the people can establish a stable government. I assume that this is without the aid of American guidance and control. If it is with the aid of American guidance and control, then the time taken must be indefinitely in the future.

Senator MCOMAS. Generations, probably?

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator MCOMAS. That was to be my next question—how many years we must continue to occupy and govern the archipelago until the people had established a stable government. You have said many generations.

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir; I think if it means what it may be inferred to mean, it means that the generals of the insurrecto forces shall call together a number of delegates and shall go through the form of making a government, and then when that government has its offices filled at once the transfer of sovereignty shall take place.

There would result after that—it might last six months, it might last a year—but there would result anarchy and interference with the rights of individuals and interference with the rights of vested interests in which foreign governments are concerned, which would require the United States at once to step back and begin over the work which it had been doing, and it would find itself where it was two years ago.

I make that statement, first, on the experience of the Aguinaldo government. For eight months Aguinaldo had a government in Luzon. It consisted of the congress at Malolos, the members of which were appointed by him, many of them distinguished lawyers and educated men from Manila largely.

Thereupon he appointed governors for various provinces, and the outrages that were committed by those governors in the conduct of government and the collection of taxes, the corruption which existed through the territory over which he had control, leave no doubt as to what the result would be, that a similar government would be established—and I assume that is what this substitute means—within a short period of time, and would be followed by the withdrawal of American sovereignty.

Secondly, the local control which the educated people of each province have over the ignorant people there would enable disappointed politicians in any particular province to set up a little force by itself, and that inevitably, in the course of one or two years, would produce the state of anarchy of which I have spoken.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think, in this connection, we having withdrawn and a state of anarchy having arisen, it would probably lead to the partition of the islands among other powers?

Governor TAFT. It is a question of opinion as to the interest which foreigners take in the islands. They are called among foreigners whom I know in Manila the gems of the Orient. The interest that Japan has taken in the islands the records of the military department will show. The interest that other governments would take in the islands may be judged of by reference to the foreign capital invested there. The Germans have a great deal of capital. The English have a good deal.

Again, on page 341, Governor Taft says:

I wish to impress the fact that were the government turned over to those who profess to be the leaders in the insurrection to-day, among the irreconcilables or intransigents, though not in arms, the idea of civil liberty would be the last idea which would be practically carried into effect.

Senator ALLISON. That is, liberty regulated by law?

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir. The tendency of all governments under them would be toward absolutism, an oligarchy which would mean that the presidente of the village would control absolutely the village; the governor would control the province, and the head of the government would control the governors. The idea of elevation and protection to that indifferent mass of 90 per cent would be possibly professed, but would fall far short of actual realization; and, therefore, offering to them independence now is offering to them—that is, to 90 per cent of the people to whom I have referred—a condition of things which would be as far from enjoyment of free institutions as it is possible to imagine.

But, Mr. President, although they are not capable of self-government at present, it is said, Why not fix a time now and declare the date when the United States will surrender its sovereignty

over the Philippine Islands and permit their inhabitants to establish their own government in their own way and receive recognition as a separate and independent nationality? Why not now declare that at some time in the future we will leave the islands to the government of their own people?

Mr. President, to my mind the answer to that question is simple and complete.

In the first place it is impossible now to determine that date with any degree of certainty; and in the second place if it were possible, such a declaration would thwart the very purpose the advocates of such a proposition have in view—the establishment of a stable and independent government. It would arrest all development, breed innumerable dissensions, ferment discord within and invite assaults from without, and end in the absorption and division of the archipelago among the naval powers of the world and crush the last hope of independent government for the Filipino people.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Will the Senator permit me to make a suggestion there?

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I simply wish to call the Senator's attention to the fact that Governor Taft testified before the committee when asked that very question that such a declaration would prevent that very thing.

Mr. BURROWS. I was about to allude to that.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. BURROWS. I am very glad the Senator from Indiana called my attention to it, but before referring to that I wish to call attention to what the first Commission say upon this very question of the inexpediency of fixing a time when the United States will surrender its sovereignty over these islands:

It is, of course, a quite different proposal to relinquish sovereignty over the Philippine Islands as soon as the Filipinos are capable of governing themselves. So far as such a policy rests upon conceptions of American duty, convenience, or expediency, it does not fall to this Commission to consider it. But, from the point of view of the Philippines, it is proper and, indeed, imperative to observe that, in the opinion of the Commission, the consideration of that proposal must be qualified by two conditions: First, it is impossible, even approximately, to fix a time for the withdrawal of American sovereignty over the archipelago, as no one can foresee when the diverse peoples of the Philippine Islands may be molded together into a nationality capable of exercising all the functions of independent self-government. They are certainly incapable of such a work to-day; whether in one or more generations they can be trained to it only the future can disclose; and, second, if American sovereignty over the archipelago should ever be relinquished, if all American authority over the people should ever cease and determine, then the United States should renounce all obligations to foreign nations for the good conduct of the Filipinos. Undoubtedly the raising of the American flag in the Philippine Islands has entailed great responsibilities upon us; but to guarantee external protection while renouncing internal dominion is no way of escaping from them; on the contrary, while you pull down the flag you only pile up difficulties.

Let me now quote briefly from the testimony of Governor Taft before our committee, which the Senator from Massachusetts desired I should read, bearing upon the advisability of making a promise as to the future independence of the Philippine people.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator, before he proceeds to that point, if he will kindly answer the question, Where does the proposition which he is now attacking, of fixing a time, come from? I have not heard one as far as I know.

Mr. BURROWS. It has come repeatedly in the course of the debate from the opponents of this measure. In the course of the discussion it has been frequently asserted that it would be wise to declare when the people of the islands could expect the relinquishment of American sovereignty, and the fact that we have not done so has been the subject of severe animadversion.

Mr. HOAR. I dislike to put my recollection against that of the Senator. It has so happened, unless I am oblivious quite, that I never heard a statement to that effect.

Mr. BURROWS. My recollection is that I have heard it frequently.

Mr. HOAR. The proposition, as I understand it, and as far as I know from the beginning—I do not mean that I know personally about it, but I know generally—is that you were bound to say what the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] has said very frankly in his speech, with which I was much pleased, that if they were fit for a government of their own they were entitled to it on American principles. My contention has been that such a declaration would have removed the war and this whole business. Now, has anybody said that a time should be fixed?

Mr. BURROWS. I have heard it repeatedly.

Mr. HOAR. I never heard it in my life.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate but a few moments longer. Governor Taft in testifying upon this point confirmed what I say, that such a declaration at this time would be most unfortunate. I quote Governor Taft as follows:

The condition of the people of the Philippine Islands to-day is such that the extension of the constitutional restrictions which apply in a State would very much interfere with the establishment of a stable and successful government.

A government ought to be established under American guidance which shall form a stable government, by which and under which the Filipinos shall gradually improve their knowledge of what is individual liberty and what is a constitutional government, and subsequently the time will come when the United States and the Filipino people together can agree upon what their relations shall be.

Whether a colony—I mean a quasi-independent colony as Australia and Canada are to England—an independent State, or a State of the Union, is a question so far in the future, dependent upon the success of the operation of the stable government, that I have not myself reached a conclusion on the subject.

QUESTION OF STATEHOOD.

Senator CARMACK. You think, then, it is an open question whether the people of the Philippine Islands—lands populated with eight or ten million Asiatics—should be admitted to the full rights of American citizenship or whether or not an archipelago so populated should be admitted to statehood in the Union? You think it is an open question?

Governor TAFT. I think it is a question that I would not answer two or three generations before it will arise. I think the great evil to-day is the discussion of something that is utterly impossible of settlement to-day. The thing the Filipino people need to-day is a stable government under the guidance of American control, teaching them what individual liberty is and training them to a knowledge of self-government, and when they have that, the question of what relations shall then exist between the islands and this country may be settled between them and the citizens of the United States.

But to attempt to decide in advance something that it is utterly impossible wisely to decide now, it seems to me, with deference to those who differ with me, very unreasonable.

Senator CARMACK. I was speaking of it from the standpoint of the people of the United States, as to whether you thought it was a question of possibility—

Governor TAFT. What the people of the United States may think, or what they ought to think, fifty or a hundred years from now I do not venture to say.

Senator PATTERSON. It is a century problem?

Governor TAFT. It is quite possible, as we say in our report, that it may

take a generation, or two generations; but no matter how long it is, it is, in my judgment, the duty of the United States to continue a government there which shall teach those people individual liberty, which shall lift them to a point of civilization of which I believe they are capable, and which shall make them rise to call the name of the United States blessed.

I have thought over this subject a great deal; we have become intensely interested in the problem, and of course motives, the charge of which we can not avoid, are given to us in reaching such a conclusion; but if I ever was convinced of anything in my life it is that the problem which the United States there has is a great problem worthy of its solution, and which, when solved by establishing a stable government there under the guidance of American control, will redound to the honor and the benefit of this country, and I am proud to have to do with that work.

Senator CARMACK. You say the great trouble in all this matter has been that we are thinking about what may happen a generation or two generations from now. If the possession of the Philippine Islands by the United States involves the possibility of an archipelago 7,000 miles away, inhabited by people of an Asiatic race, becoming a State of the Union fifty or a hundred years from now, do you not think it is a question which deserves consideration now? Do you not think we ought to consider what may happen fifty years from now?

Governor TAFT. No, sir; and I will say why. Nothing that can to-day be said to the Filipino people in the nature of a promise as to the form of government which may take place after an established stable government shall be formed could be otherwise than misleading to them and confusing in establishing that government.

It would at once begin the agitation among those who desire that separation to have that separation, because, in their opinion, they are fitted for it at once. It would drive away from the support of the stable government that conservative element who are strongly in favor of American guidance and control, because they would anticipate an early change.

They would think they would early be left without the support which the presence of the American Government necessarily gives, and the promise of something in the future, instead of helping to establish, would render unstable any government which was attempted to be established.

* * * * *
My proposition is that it is the duty of the United States to establish there a government suited to the present possibilities of the people, which shall gradually change, conferring more and more right upon the people to govern themselves, thus educating them in self-government, until their knowledge of government, their knowledge of individual liberty shall be such that further action may be taken either by giving them statehood or by making them a quasi-independent government like Canada and Australia, or if they desire it, by independence.

My point, and the point I insist upon, if I may be pardoned for using that expression, is that the discussion to-day of independence, of statehood, of a colonial form of government, in the sense of a permanent relation of colony to mother country, is altogether aside from the questions which are now presented.

Those are, and those concern, the establishment of a firm and stable government in which the Filipino people shall learn self-government by exercising it partially.

* * * * *
Senator MCOMAS. What would happen to them if we withdrew in this fashion?

Governor TAFT. The personal hostility between leading Filipinos at times has been so great as to lead to bloody measures. How far they would be carried here I have no idea. That is conjectural.

I should like to say, if I may, although I had not expected to come to this part of the discussion now, that it is a very logical and reasonable proposition on its face to say, Will not the insurrection come to an end; will not there be general peace and tranquillity if you promise to give these people independence when they shall be fitted for it? That proposition, put in that way, seems to have a great deal of force.

Practically the effect of such a promise would be exactly the opposite from that which the argument presupposes. The promise to give them independence when they are fit for it would be accepted by them as a promise to give them independence certainly during the lifetime of the present generation. It would at once bring into a discussion of every issue the question whether now were not the people ready for independence. It would drive out capital; prevent capital from coming there; and upon the investment of capital, the building of railroads, the enlargement of vision of the Filipino people, much of our hope of progress must depend.

In addition to that, by reason of the constant agitation as to the granting of this independence in a year or two years or three years or a decade, it

would at once discourage the sincere efforts of the educated Filipinos who are with us to-day in building up a stable government. For these reasons I think such a promise as that would be a great mistake.

Senator MCOMAS. Could you, in deciding the question of leaving the sovereignty of the islands, determine now, from your several years' experience there, to which inhabitants you would leave it, with their rivalries and confusions of tongues?

Governor TAFT. Of course, if you left the islands to anybody you would leave them, I assume, to some sort of a committee or parliament, appointed or selected, who would be dominated probably by those whose violent methods have continued the guerilla warfare; and that such a body could be created by proclamation within a reasonable time I have no doubt. But that it would not constitute a stable government; that it would give rise to anarchy and division between the tribes and between individuals of power and force, I have no doubt.

And so, Mr. President, we have the testimony of Governor Taft, that great jurist and administrator, fresh from the field of his labors in these islands, confirming the unwisdom of surrendering our sovereignty and abandoning these islands.

Mr. President, as I said in the beginning, so I repeat now, "We have come to the parting of the ways." The responsibility is upon us, and it can not be avoided or postponed. Upon the choice of this hour depends, I believe, the honor of the republic and the future well-being of the Filipino people.

In my judgment the course proposed by the majority as outlined by their bill is the only safe and honorable way for this nation to take, committing the future to the enlightened judgment of those who are to come after us.

And let us trust that by pursuing this course with steadfastness and courage there will ultimately be realized the hope of the dead President, that "all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands will come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila, and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States."

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